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## RUDYARD KIPLING IN FRANCE: FRENCH IMPERIALIST AUTHORS AND LITERATURE

by James J. Cooke

Every student in history and in English is very much aware of British imperial literature. Reading Kipling is a part of every survey course in this area, and is also vital for the student in modern British history. The verses of *Gunga Din* or *White Man's Burden* are indicative of a special nineteenth and early twentieth-century phenomenon, the colonialist mentality. However, few students of English literature and history realize that while Kipling was urging his fellow Englishmen to take up their imperial tasks in India and Africa, there was a corresponding, yet different, movement in French literature. The British and French messages were somewhat the same—to spread European civilization to the colonies, economically exploit them for the benefit of the mother country, and enhance the prestige of the state. The Englishmen named their movement the White man's burden, and the French called it the *mission civilisatrice*.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike British imperialism, French colonialism was based on a very serious effort to recover lost national prestige. In 1870, France was crushed by the might of the German nation. Bismarck, seeking to forge a new state out of the small, disunited Germanic kingdoms, openly sought a war with France. The Franco-Prussian War was swift, and France, defeated without any doubt, was forced to surrender Alsace and a third of Lorraine. She was saddled with a massive indemnity and found that, as a disgraced state, she had lost most of her heavy industry. Imperialism was an out-growth of the desperate need to recover what she was forced to give up in 1870. Consequently, French colonialism and colonialist literature became militant and intense, permeated with a sense of national necessity. Colonies, the

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<sup>1</sup>There have been studies of the ideology of French colonial theory. Most textbooks have accepted the idea of the civilizing mission at face value. However, for new interpretations see Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory 1890-1914* (New York: Columbia University, 1960), and Agnes Murphy, *The Ideology of French Imperialism 1871-1891* (New York: Fertig, 1968).

politicians of the embryonic third Republic believed, would help to reforge France's damaged prestige and provide markets for her post-1870 industrialization. The civilizing mission, the Frenchman's burden, was quickly subordinated to the basic necessities of nationalistic pride and the simple economy of recovery.

This is not to say that the desire to bring the benefits of French culture to Africa and Asia disappeared from the French colonial scene. That desire was, however, subordinated to the goal of rebuilding France. As one leading colonialist put it, "Every colonial enterprise is a business which must be prudently and practically conducted."<sup>2</sup> Jules Ferry, France's leading political advocate of empire in the decade of the 1880's, stated, "Colonial policy is a son of industrial policy." The French mission by 1880 became one of economics rather than education. Inundating France for four decades, from 1880 to 1920, literature propagandizing the empire emphasized the absolute necessity to reap a profit from imperialism. Secondary to the exploitation of the empire was its education, and no colonialist could ever resist pointing with pride to the hospitals and schools that were constructed in Africa or Asia. Aware that the colonialists in France were of various political and social persuasions, the imperialist authors knew that the civilizing mission was at least a good propaganda device.

There never was a French colonialist party, in the strict political sense of the word, and the colonial bloc, as the imperialists preferred to call it, was a coalition of men of many ideologies and from various parties. They had one goal in common: the expansion of France's overseas colonial empire.<sup>4</sup> The future socialist leader of France, Jean Jaurès, worked with the capitalist and the arch-representative of colonial exploitation, Eugène Etienne. Finding their desire to colonize to be somewhat similar, they agreed on the value of imperialism, at least for a while. However, as it became obvious by the early twentieth century that colonialism was exploitive and

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<sup>2</sup>Betts, *Assimilation and Association*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup>Henri Brunschwig, *Mythes et réalités de l'imperialisme colonial française 1871-1914* (Paris: Colin, 1960), p. 80.

<sup>4</sup>Henri Brunschwig, "Le Parti colonial français," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, CLII, (September, 1959), pp. 49-83.

brought on increased hostility in Europe, Jaures gave up his adherence to the doctrines of imperialism.<sup>5</sup>

Jean Jaurès is a good example of the type of colonialist of the left in France in the nineteenth century. More representative of the Kipling school of colonial expansion, Jaurès was a firm believer in the *mission civilisatrice*, and he was a humanitarian and fighter for social justice. Jaurès believed that it was France's mission to carry to Africa and to Asia the great philosophical truths of 1789: liberty, equality, and fraternity.<sup>6</sup> For the future leader of French socialism, the empire was a vehicle for the transmission of French culture. As a journalist, he could propagandize the empire and, as an effective orator, he helped to create in the minds of his readers and listeners a respect for the colonies. Once, when speaking to a conference of the Alliance française at Albi, France, in 1884, Jaurès stated that the natives would be greatly helped "when by their intelligence and heart they have learned a little French."<sup>7</sup>

There were many colonialists like Jaurès who saw imperialism as only a justifiable means to a desired end. However, not all colonialists were social Darwinists. Social Darwinism was a paternalistic thread in the tapestry of colonization. Unlike the traditional, historic French equalitarianism of Jaurès, the social Darwinist saw the Frenchmen's burden as simply trying to raise the standard of living of the native and helping him to acquire some of the most tangible benefits of French colonialism, Jules Cambon, Governor General of Algeria in 1895, wrote for an influential colonialist journal that "France has shown her generosity: she wants to upraise the Algerian Muslim's moral and intellectual standard and improve the conditions of their persons . . ."<sup>8</sup>

Cambon was not alone in his elitist, paternalistic attitudes toward the natives of the empire. Certain that something could be done to aid the subject peoples, many colonialists viewed the French role in

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<sup>5</sup>Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), pp. 333-337.

<sup>6</sup>Jean Jaurès, *Textes choisis I, contre la guerre et la politique coloniale* (Paris: éditions sociales, 1959), p. 75.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>Statement by Jules Cambon as cited in "Colonies françaises: Algérie," *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française V* (January, 1895), 15. (Hereafter cited as BCAF).

Africa and Asia not as an equalitarian force, but as a transmitter, to allow a slight filtering down of their superior culture. Another celebrated paternalist was General Joseph Galliéni,<sup>9</sup> one of the great activists of French colonialism. His *politique des races* was a natural extension of Jaures' interest in the *mission civilisatrice* and the paternalism of Jules Cambon. Galliéni's attitudes were based on the assumptions that there were vast cultural and social differences between the races and that the Europeans were the superior group. Following a policy of divide and conquer, the General played upon tribal differences. Exploiting these differences and administering the tribes was a simple matter for Galliéni. Because of his successful, energetic administrative policies in West Africa, Indochina, and Madagascar, he became a popular figure in France. Over a period of twenty years he published almost a dozen works, primarily collections of his letters and reports written while he was a colonial soldier. Besides his personal correspondence, Galliéni also wrote several *mémoires* pertaining to his campaigns in the colonies.<sup>10</sup>

The publication of *mémoires*, collections of letters, and personal narratives of exploratory missions became popular in France in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Almost every military figure who participated in colonial pacification wrote something. Never lacking in tales of glory and in support for the cause of colonialism, these books were sold in great numbers to the general reading public. One such author was Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey, who won his fame as a pupil of Galliéni while in Indochina and Madagascar. Throughout his life Lyautey, who became a hero of France, published almost a dozen *mémoires* and collections of letters.<sup>11</sup> During his career as a colonial soldier, Hubert Lyautey maintained a close relationship with the Viscount Eugène Melchior de Vogüé, a noted man of French

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<sup>9</sup>For a brief study on Galliéni see Robert Delavignette et Ch. André Julien, *Les constructeurs de la France d'Outre-Mer* (Paris: Corréa, 1946), pp. 38-420.

<sup>10</sup>There has not been a definitive biography concerning Galliéni.

<sup>11</sup>The standard biography of Hubert Lyautey is André Maurois, *Lyautey* (New York: Appleton, 1931). However, there is definite room for a scholarly work on the life of Lyautey.

letters, who convinced Lyautey to publish his first work, "Le rôle social de l'officier" in the *Revue des deux mondes* in 1891.<sup>12</sup>

Probably some of the most widely read colonialist-oriented works in France were those produced by the soldiers and explorers that opened Africa to French domination. Almost every major explorer wrote something about his contribution to the process of French imperialism. For example, in 1902 François Foureau recorded the history of the 1898-1899 mission into Central Africa.<sup>13</sup> The *Mission saharienne Foureau-Lamy d'Alger au Congo par le Tchad* (Paris: Masson, 1902) recounted his ill-fated expedition. He also made a case for a trans-saharan railway which had been an imperialist dream for almost twenty years. In 1903, Captain Eugène Lenfant told of his exploits in Africa in *Le Niger: Voie ouverte à l'empire africain* (Paris: Hachette, 1903) and posed a very convincing argument for imperialism in West Africa.

This trend was also apparent in Great Britain, where numerous explorers and military men wrote personal accounts of what they saw and did in the empire. Henry M. Stanley described his many explorations in a two-volume work *In Darkest Africa* (New York: Scribners, 1890). The famous Stanley was only one of a long list of men who popularized the British Empire. They gave, as did the French explorers, the reading public a rare personal glimpse of Africa and Asia. It was a contact which the people of England and France would not have otherwise had. For years, the British had been engaged in heavy fighting with the Ashanti tribes in the Gold Coast area of Africa, and this conflict produced a large number of books comparable to the French story of the opening of central Africa. For example, Richard A. Freeman wrote of his mission in *Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1898) and Robert Baden-Powell told the story of his part in the Ashanti campaign in the *The Downfall of Prempeh: A Diary of the Life with the Native Levy in the Ashanti* (Philadelphia: Lippencott, 1896). Official

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<sup>12</sup>Delavignette et Julien, *Les constructeurs*, pp. 473-475. Lyautey's "Le rôle social de l'officier," can be found in the *Revue de deux mondes* (March 15, 1891), pp. 449-451. Also Hubert Lyautey, *Vers le Maroc: Lettres du Sud Oranais* (Paris: Colin, 1937), and Hubert Lyautey, "Letters de Rabat, 1907," *Revue des deux mondes* LXIV (July 15, 1921), 273-304.

<sup>13</sup>For a recent short account of the Foureau-Lamy expedition see James Wellard, *The Great Sahara* (New York: Sutton, 1967), pp. 266-267.

explorers always gained the most amount of publicity and public respect. One such man was Royal Navy Commander Verney L. Cameron, who retold of his mission in *Across Africa* (London: Harpers, 1877). So important was his trek across Africa that Queen Victoria gave her permission for Cameron to dedicate his book to her. But, while the British were greatly interested in West Africa, especially the Nigeria and the Gold Coast region, the French became more interested in Morocco.

By the turn of the century, Morocco dominated the personal *mémories* of France's soldiers and the explorers. Since 1898 the French imperialists had moved toward the addition of Morocco to the French empire.<sup>14</sup> The colonialists believed it was imperative that the French reading public learn about Morocco and about the benefits which would be gained for France once the North African state was annexed into the empire. By the first decade of the twentieth century there were many accounts of travel in Morocco. Perhaps the most important writer on Morocco was the famous explorer and geographer the Marquis de Segonzac, who was a close friend and confidant of Eugène Etienne, France's leading imperialist. In 1904 and 1905, at the request of Eugène Etienne and the French imperialists, de Segonzac undertook an explorative mission to Morocco, and in 1910 he recorded his experiences in *Au coeur de l'Atlas; Missions au Maroc 1904-1905* (Paris: Larose, 1910).

The de Sagonzac mission to Morocco was well-known to the French reading public because in 1906 Louis Gentil, a member of the Marquis' party, wrote his account of the mission. Gentil's *Missions de Segonzac: dans le Bled es Siba: exploration au Maroc* recounted the trip to the untamed Bled es Siba, or controlled region of Morocco. Combined with the personal accounts of other renowned explorers and colonial administrators, the literature concerning Morocco and French interests in that area grew to tremendous proportions. As the desire to annex that part of North Africa into the empire became

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<sup>14</sup>In 1898 England and France clashed on the Nile at a small village named Fashoda. While not engaging in military action, France was obliged to withdraw her mission from Fashoda. The French imperialists after 1898 turned their attention toward Morocco. In 1904, England and France signed an accord which recognized England's rights on the Nile and France's rights in Morocco. See Christopher Andrew, *Theophile Delcassé and the Entente Cordiale* (New York: St. Matins Press, 1968), and George N. Sanderson, *England, France and the Upper Nile 1882-1889* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1965).

more pressing, the number of books grew. The colonialist author had little trouble gaining access to a major press.

While the personal accounts of the French explorers were exciting and were eagerly purchased, the vast number of books, articles, and tracts that were written by imperialists within the government and in the Paris-based colonial lobby represented the most important source of information for the French people. For forty years, men like Eugène Etienne, an energetic, big man with short grey hair, deluged the French population with arguments in favor of empire. As Undersecretary of State for Colonies from 1887 to 1892, as Minister of the Interior in 1905, and as Minister of War in 1906, he was able to use his position to help bring Morocco into the empire.<sup>15</sup> A prolific author of articles and an energetic orator, Etienne became the symbol of French colonialism.

It can be said that the intensive French effort to convert the people to the cause of imperialism started with Etienne in 1890. While Undersecretary of State for Colonies, he saw the definite need for an all-out effort to colonize. Disgusted with what he considered to be a weak governmental policy in regard to territorial acquisition, Etienne gathered about him thirty imperialists and founded the *Comité de l'Afrique française* (the Committee for French Africa). The new Committee, dedicated to winning a reluctant public and an apathetic government to the cause, founded a new journal entitled the *Bulletin*. The *Bulletin*, a monthly publication, became the forum for France's leading advocates of empire. Men like Harry Alis, Robert de Caix, Joseph Chailley-Bert, Eugène Etienne, and Auguste Terrier wrote continuously for the magazine.<sup>16</sup>

A year after its founding, the committee had grown to 942 members and had a working capital of 187,000 francs. Baron Alphonse de Rothschild and the huge, influential *Maison Hachette* gave freely to

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<sup>15</sup>Unfortunately, there has not been a definitive biography of Eugène Etienne. Born in Oran, Algeria, in 1844, Etienne entered the Chamber in 1881 and quickly became the leader of the Colonial bloc. Roland Villot's *Eugène Etienne* (Oran: Fougue, 1951) is the only attempt at a biography, but it is scanty and biased. Herward Sieberg's *Eugène Etienne und die Französische Kolonialpolitik 1887-1904* (Köln: Westdeutscher, 1968) lacks substantive material on Etienne's career after the signing of the Anglo-French Entente of 1904.

<sup>16</sup>Brunschwig, *Mythes et réalités*, pp. 116-117.



the coffers, as did Armand Templier, Hachette's director-general. Very quickly the French colonialists made an alliance with the publishing industry; it would be profitable for both groups.<sup>17</sup> Many journalists and professional scholars joined the ranks of the *Comité de l'Afrique française* in 1891. The Journalist Théophile Delcassé and the historian-author Gabriel Hanotaux were members. Both men would become Foreign Ministers of France.<sup>18</sup>

The task of editing the *Bulletin* of the French colonial association was given to Hippolyte Percher, a well known journalist and colonial advocate. The magazine of the colonialists was to appear on a monthly basis with supplementary publications at a regular interval. Percher, who wrote under the pen-name of Harry Alis, devoted his time to the spread of the gospel of French imperialism. His editorials, straightforward and coherent, had one message: The empire must grow and prosper.<sup>19</sup> Besides his duties as editor of the *Bulletin*, he became a major speaker for the *Comité de l'Afrique française*. He wrote several books exposing colonialism, his most important being *Nos Africains* (Paris: Hachette) appearing in 1894. Alis argued in favor of many imperial causes, and at one point he espoused the cause of the Belgians in the Congo. So great was his influence in colonial circles, that agents of the Belgian King Leopold II paid him subsidies to maintain his editorial interest in the Congo.<sup>20</sup>

Alis, who also held the position of Secretary General of the *Comite*, undertook a series of lectures popularizing the colonialism of France in central Africa, which had been a favorite cause for years.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Henri Brunschwig, *L'avènement de l'Afrique noire du XIX siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Colin, 1963), p. 135; Brunschwig, *Mythes et réalités*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>18</sup>There are excellent works on both Hanotaux and Delcassé which dwell in some length on their associations with colonialism. See Alf Heggoy, *The African Policies of Gabriel Hanotaux* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), and Andrews, *Delcasse* (see footnote 14).

<sup>19</sup>For more on Alis and the *Comité de l'Afrique française* see Sanderson, *England, France, and the Upper Nile*, pp. 118-119. Alis' editorials appeared on a regular basis in the *Bulletin* for the period 1890-1895.

<sup>20</sup>Evidently Etienne and Alis did not fully agree on the support for the Belgians in the Congo; see J. Stengers, "Correspondance de Leopold II avec van Eetvelde," *Académie Royale des sciences d'outre-mer* XXIX 2 (1953), 480-487.

<sup>21</sup>For Alis and Central Africa, see A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan: A Study in French Military Imperialism* (Cambridge: University Press), pp. 169-208 and 211.

In 1895, Percher was killed in a duel with an outraged husband, and the Secretary Generalship passed on to other capable men, all of whom were accomplished and well known writers and authors. The most famous successor of Harry Alis was the Viscount Robert de Caix, who was a close friend of the powerful Etienne and who, in colonial philosophy, differed little from Alis or Etienne.

De Caix wrote for the imperialist cause at an opportune time. The French public was apathetic in respect to colonialism, and de Caix, as foreign editor of the *Bulletin*, speaker for the *Comité*, and an author of many books, made it his task to popularize the empire. In 1898, France had suffered a great national humiliation at Fashoda, a small village which was located on the upper Nile in the Sudan. The French had never given up their claims to Egypt; and since the British takeover of Suez in 1882, they had tried to reestablish some imperial presence in the Nile.<sup>22</sup> In the spring of 1898, a small force of French officers and Senegalese infantry reached the village, and there they planted the Tricolor, claiming that area of the Sudan for the French republic. Unfortunately for the Fashoda mission, there were large numbers of British and Egyptian troops under General Kitchener in the immediate vicinity. Fresh from their victory over the Muslim followers of the Mahdi, a self-proclaimed Islamic messiah, Kitchener's forces moved up the Nile to Fashoda to confront the French at that point. A full-scale diplomatic crisis ensued, the government in Paris fell, and the new French Foreign Minister, Théophile Delcassé, extricated France from her embarrassing predicament.<sup>23</sup>

The reactions of the colonialist writers to the military evacuation of Fashoda were odd. Most of the leading imperialists played down the humiliation of France on the Nile. De Caix, Etienne, and others took the position that since France had failed on the Nile, she ought to turn her imperial attention toward the acquisition of Morocco. France's real imperial interests, the colonialists argued, were in North Africa, not on the Nile. However, Delcassé was not convinced that

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<sup>22</sup>Pierre Renouvin, "Les origines de l'expédition de Fashoda," *Revue historique* CC (1948), 187-197.

<sup>23</sup>For more on Delcassé consult the Andrew's monograph and, Charles Porter, *The Career of Théophile Delcassé* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1936) Pierre Renouvin, *Politique extérieure de Théophile Delcassé 1898-1905* (Paris: centre de documentation universitaire, 1954); Sanderson's *England, France and the Upper Nile* is also a good source for this question.

France should seek some sort of arrangement or barter concerning Egypt and Morocco. The task of popularizing such a diplomatic, colonial exchange fell to the imperialists.<sup>24</sup> De Caix, as foreign editor of the *Bulletin*, was concerned with the prospects of the Egypto-Moroccan trade. Writing in the *Bulletin* that the Fashoda mission would, in the long run, prove to be a victory, he said that France should seriously try to start negotiations with England. It was high time, he indicated, that France revise her militant policies in regard to England.<sup>25</sup> De Caix openly advocated such a barter in his book *Fachoda: la France et l'Angleterre* (Paris: André, 1899), and his sentiments were echoed by Etienne and the rest of the *Comité de l'Afrique française*.<sup>26</sup> By writing hundreds of articles and editorials, Robert de Caix helped pave the way for the Anglo-French Accords of 1904, which recognized the barter of Egypt for Morocco. In 1904, he pledged that the editorial staff of the *Bulletin* would give first priority to the cause of Moroccan annexation.<sup>27</sup>

The annexation of Morocco was also one of the great themes of Auguste Terrier, another of the important imperialist authors. A member of the *Comité de l'Afrique française* and a well known journalist, Terrier wrote editorials and books which were masterpieces in the area of colonial propaganda. In 1898, Terrier worked with de Caix to salvage something out of the Fashoda debacle. In the *Bulletin*, he speculated that, because of the growing naval power of Germany, England and France would have to join together for their mutual protection. "We of the *Comité de l'Afrique française* can say that we desire an understanding with Britain," he wrote.<sup>28</sup> Terrier quickly became one of the leading proponents of the Anglo-French accords.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>The first indication that the Egypto-Moroccan barter would become a primary goal of the colonialists is contained in a letter from Paul Bourde to Etienne, Paris October 27, 1898, as found in *Correspondance d'Eugène Etienne*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France, letter 36. Also see Andrew's *Delcassé*, pp. 103-106.

<sup>25</sup>Robert de Caix, "Les relations franco-anglaises," *BCAF* IX (March, 1899), 84.

<sup>26</sup>Andrews, *Delcassé*, pp. 103-106.

<sup>27</sup>Robert de Caix, "L'accord franco-anglaises," *BCAF* XIV (April, 1904), 107.

<sup>28</sup>Auguste Terrier, "Les relations entre la France et l'Angleterre," *Ibid.*, IX (February, 1899), 45.

<sup>29</sup>Terrier and de Caix continued to write editorials for the *Bulletin* concerning the Egypto-Moroccan trade. Their language, idea, and styles were quite similar.

In 1906 he was chosen to co-author with Marcel Dubois a semi-official work for the colonial exposition of 1900 which was to be held in Paris. The book, *Les colonies française: un siècle d'expansion coloniale* (Paris: Augustin-Challamel, 1901), clearly reveals Terrier's concepts toward the empire. Never a firm advocate of the *mission civilisatrice*, he placed greater emphasis on the economic benefits of the empire for France. While not neglecting the benefits of French colonial rule for the African and Asian, Terrier devoted most of his time to popularizing the empire as a source of new power and prestige. A decade later, as Secretary General of the *Comité*, he wrote, in conjunction with Charles Mourey of the French colonial office, *L'oeuvre de la troisième republique en Afrique occidentale: L'expansion française et la formation territoriale* (Paris: Larose, 1910). Etienne called this the "golden book, filled with a colonial, patriotic faith."<sup>30</sup> Through the pen of Auguste Terrier the empire was popularized, and, because of his fiery editorials in the *Bulletin*, the French were brought closer to the final conquest of Morocco. Few writers played such an important role in the history of French imperialism.

Harry Alis, Robert de Caix, and Auguste Terrier formed the great editorial triumvirate of the *Bulletin*. Their contribution within the colonial movement was considerable and effective. But all three were quick to acknowledge the literary and philosophical brilliance of Joseph Chailley-Bert, and Alis, before his death in 1895, recognized that Chailley-Bert would become one of the most effective of colonial propagandists. An admirer of the British colonial system, Chailley-Bert tried to popularize the English colonial system in France. As a colonialist author, he was one of the most widely read writers in France. He began his colonial career in Indochina in 1886, and there was fully converted to the cause of imperialism.<sup>31</sup> His *La colonisation de l'Indo-Chine: L'expérience anglaise* (Paris: Colin, 1890), and *Dix années de politique coloniale* (Paris: Colin, 1902) were clear examples of his infatuation with the concepts of English imperialism. However, Chailley-Bert was no champion of the *mission civilisatrice*; he was too much a part of French nineteenth-century imperialism.

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<sup>30</sup>Etienne was asked to write the preface for this book. Over a period of twenty years Etienne probably wrote two dozen prefaces for colonial works. It is interesting that he never wrote a book of his own.

<sup>31</sup>Betts, *Assimilation and Association*, pp. 46-53.

He told the *Comité de l'Afrique française* that "the natives do not love us and can never love us . . . They should never be asked to love us."<sup>32</sup> To Chailley-Bert, the French colonialist and the native occupied two different and almost totally irreconcilable worlds. There could be no fusing of the two cultures; France had to concern herself with the necessities of re forging a nation through an empire which would be second to none.

Throughout his career in government as a colonial administrator and as a member of the Chamber, Chailley-Bert had great influence. His voice was continually heard and respected by the *Comité*, and his advice was valued by such leading imperialists as the powerful Etienne. So powerful did he become that he was able to challenge the theory of immediate exploitation of West Africa as espoused by Etienne. By praising the deliberate policies of the British in Africa, Chailley-Bert warned that Etienne's demand for immediate profits from the African colonies was foolish. Rapid development, Chailley-Bert warned, was the "weakest means of colonization."<sup>33</sup> Massive efforts to build large industries in Africa were premature, and success, he claimed, would "no longer depend on the faith of public opinion in the colonial cause."<sup>34</sup> Despite criticism directed at Etienne, the two imperialists remained close friends; and in 1904 Chailley-Bert named Etienne as one of the men most responsible for the final culmination of the Anglo-French accords.<sup>35</sup> The author of hundreds of articles, books and tracts, Chailley-Bert's name appeared in every journal in France, except those devoted to the anti-colonial political left.

Chailley-Bert's influence was felt by every imperialist author. His style, message, and enthusiasm were copied by dozens of younger colonial writers like Lucien Hubert and Raymond Aynard. These two men are examples of the colonialists who were influenced directly by Chailley-Bert. They adopted zealous methods of propagandizing

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<sup>32</sup> Vincent Confer, *France and Algeria: The Problem of Civil and Political Reform, 1870-1920* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966), p. 49.

<sup>33</sup> Chailley-Bert, *Dix années*, p. 126.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* Also see Joseph Chailley-Bert, "Le Ministère des colonies," *Revue des deux mondes* LXIV (March, 1894), 906-924.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Chailley-Bert, "Le traite franco-anglais," *La Quinzaine coloniale* XV (April 25, 1904). 249-251.

the empire. In 1904, Lucien Hubert, a politician and friend of Chailley-Bert, wrote *Politique Africaine—Maroc, Afrique occidentale, Algérie, Tchad, l'effort étranger* (Paris: Dujarric) which praised the deliberate methods of colonization. In the preface, written by Etienne, the Deputy from Oran finally accepted the slow, methodical attempt at colonization. Another colonial associate, Raymond Aynard, wrote *L'oeuvre française en Algérie* (Paris: Hachette, 1912). Aynard, a government official in Algeria for many years, admired Chailley-Bert's concepts of colonial expansion. In his conclusion, Aynard warned that there were vast inherent differences between the Muslims of North Africa and European colonial settlers of Algeria. The colonist would have to guard against the hostility and the treachery of the native. Like Chailley-Bert and like Gallieni, Aynard rejected the Frenchmen's burden, the *mission civilisatrice*.<sup>36</sup>

There were literally hundreds of young imperialist writers in France over a period of three decades from 1880-1910. Few of them, however, reached the fame of Harry Alis, Marquis de Segonzac, Eugène Etienne, Robert de Caix, or Joseph Chailley-Bert. Among colonial authors, these men were giants, molders of public and official opinion, and they could not be ignored. They did reflect a trend in French imperial literature that was strictly French. The French imperialists never produced a man like Rudyard Kipling, and there was little of the romantic fiction in their work. French colonialism was at least for the imperialists, a product of a practical national necessity. The need to win converts to a policy, which the colonialists saw as vital to the recovery of France after the disaster of 1870, was overriding and all consuming. Most of the great colonialists, men like Etienne, de Caix, Gallieni, and Lyautey, rejected Kipling's concept of the white man's burden: it made no practical sense to them.

In the context of the necessities of French imperialism after the Franco-Prussian War, the *mission civilisatrice* was simply a luxury which France could not afford. The first priority was for the reforging of French industry. A nation's prestige, pride, and self-confidence was at stake, and nothing could deter the colonialists from what they saw as a patriotic goal. Certainly criticism may be leveled at the French colonialists for their lack of interest in the welfare of the natives and

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<sup>36</sup> Aynard, *L'oeuvre française*, pp. 335-354.

for their desire to exploit immediately the African and Asian colonies; but it must be kept in mind that they worked and wrote in the political and nationalistic climate of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Then there were few voices opposed to colonial expansion. Eugene Etienne stated that "Every colonial enterprise is a business. . . ." Etienne represented the majority of French colonialists who saw the empire as a national necessity. The mission of the empire, in their minds, was simple: to rebuild and re-structure France as a world power as quickly as possible. All else was subordinated to this goal. Consequently, the white man's burden or the *mission civilisatrice*, became secondary or was forgotten. The literature of the French colonialists reflected this trend.